1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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562 233 reason that it breaks the smooth rhythm of its grazing but also because her presence in some way affronts the sheep and might cause disease. *A fortiori* a woman never milks a sheep. Yet there 562 462 233 is no rigid avoidance. And, in fact, women regularly do the heavy work in building sheep-folds or moving them to a new site when they are fouled with mud and dung. And relays of women at dawn and dusk bring down the newly born lambs with their mothers from the flock to the clean and better protected sheep-fold near the huts. They are, however, by preference, unmarried girls (τσοῦπρες).

562 462 But in relation to the division of labour, the complementary opposition of the sexes in fact turns less upon the opposition of sheep and goats and is more concerned with a wider and more important distinction. Men are occupied with their extensive duties of grazing and protecting the flocks, women within or immediately around the hut, with its central hearth and fire which gives physical warmth and spiritual protection, are concerned with the intensive tasks of the care of children and the [158] provision of food, clothes, and shelter for their family. The expressive role of the woman within the family hut accentuates the quality of motherhood, not sexuality, and it is consistent with this aspect of her social personality that the shepherd brings a sick sheep to his hut to be nursed and cared for by the women. It is a woman who ties a ewe which has lost its lamb to the wall of the hut by a short cord so that it cannot sit, and patiently persuades it to accept the lamb of another ewe which has borne twins.

462 The assistance women give in the care of the animals is their direct contribution to the stani. Their work within the hut [252] concerns only their own family. These tasks are manifold. They [372] care for the children, cook, bake bread on the open hearth, cut [312] wood or bushes for the fire, carry water in barrels from the [462] spring, sometimes from a very considerable distance. In the stream, or spring, they also wash the clothes of their family. [222] They search the mountain slopes for wild vegetables and herbs [241] and in the summer villages they cultivate a small vegetable [235] garden in which onions, beans, and lettuces are grown. They [437] also keep a few hens. Some of the eggs are kept for the children but the majority are bartered in the village shop for dyes and CCD other small needs. A man may occasionally give his wife a kid

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of her husband's immediate family. She gives shirts or socks to her father-in-law and brothers-in-law. To her husband's sisters and sisters-in-law she presents embroidered bodices. As a rule the father-in-law presents the new bride with a blanket and the other members give her various articles of clothing, such as skirts or blouses.

All the guests have now left and on the Tuesday night the bride and groom sleep together for the first time. But the ceremonial introduction of the bride to her new family and the tasks she must perform is not yet completed. On the Wednesday the women of the family escort the bride to the well. With them walks a youth carrying the wedding standard. This standard attests the virginity and purity of the two partners and, except on the Sunday when it is borne in front of the bridegroom on his journey to claim the bride, it has flown above the thatch of the bridegroom's hut since the Saturday evening.[3] On the Wednesday morning, since the marriage has now been consummated in the physical union of the bride and groom, the standard is taken down from the roof. At the spring or well the shaft of the standard is thrust upright into the water and abandoned, while the standard is cut free and put away until the marriage of another son. In the minds of the Sarakatsani this is the definitive moment when the bride finally enters the ranks of the married women.[4] At once the bride fills and carries to the huts of her new home her first barrel of water. This is an appropriate task to open her new life of service; for carrying water is rightly considered by the women to be their hardest work. Bent double under their enormous load they must often stagger as far as a mile from the well to the huts. On the afternoon of the same day she takes up her distaff for the first time and spins a little red wool, red the colour which represents virility in her husband, strength and fertility in herself. On the Thursday, under the supervision of her mother-in-law and with some help from the other women, she washes the clothes of the whole family as well as her own undergarments stained with the blood of her virginity. During these first few days all the women of the family make a conscious effort to put the bride at ease in

[3] When it replaces a smaller flag made with a handkerchief, placed there at the beginning of the marriage preparations.

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 52.

484 291 101 [233] [413] [482] pompon covering the front of the foot. The thick soles were clouted, and the nails grated underfoot. Gazing straight ahead, he loped along the middle of the road, as though to keep as far as possible from the contaminating houses. A long shepherd's staff, whose crook was a tortuously carved wooden snake, was laid across his shoulders. His arms were looped over it in the cruciform position in which many mountaineers carry their crooks and their guns. He was a Sarakatsán. Heads turned as he passed, and the smack of cards and the clatter of backgammon counters died down for a few moments: I got up and dogged his steps at a discreet distance.

[114] [342] [131] 233 Sarakatsáns have always filled me with awe. I first saw these primeval Greek nomads years ago when I was walking across Bulgaria; on my way to Constantinople. A gathering of beehive-shaped huts were scattered over the wintry hills slanting to the Black Sea. Brushwood folds ran up the green slopes, and thousands of shaggy black goats and sheep grazed over the rainy landscape, their heavy bronze bells filling the air with a many-toned and harmonious jangle. Here and there among them, like dark monoliths under the wheeling crows, their herdsmen leaned on their lance-[291] long crooks; their faces were almost lost in the deep hoods of high-shouldered goat's-hair capes that

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283 /49/ The Sarakatsani women spin constantly, whenever their hands
(282) are free. It is altogether common to see a woman spinning as she walks,
(313) her back loaded with a huge bundle of firewood or a tub full of water,
in addition to a nursing child.

Winding: the spinning finished, the spinner frees the spindle and, by hand, winds the thread into balls.

294 Dyeing: the natural colors of sheep wool are white, black, and in
386 rare instances, brown. The goat wool is gray-black or, exceptionally, a very dark chestnut.

It seems that, traditionally and even recently, the Sarakatsani esthetic was content with the natural color of the wool. Thus, the decorative motifs of the women's clothing were white on a black background. (The men's clothing, or rather the articles they make themselves do not have decorations).

386 However, recently, the Sarakatsani have adopted bright colors (red, yellow or green) for their blankets and their rugs. They have thus learned to dye the wool by using chemical dyes (aniline) bought commercially.

283 In order to facilitate permeation, they arrange the wool to start
386 with in hanks which they call vanda. In order to form a vanda they undo a ball by winding the thread around the forearm, that is to say, between the wrist and the elbow. This traditional process is also used during